

EFFECTS OF SECOND INAUGURAL

DRAWER 6

SECOND INAUGURAL

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Late Addresses of Abraham Lincoln, 1861-1865

Second Inaugural Effects

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

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EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

MONDAY EVENING, MARCH 6, 1865.

THE PRESIDENT'S INAUGURAL is a singular State paper,—made so by the times. No similar document has ever before been published to the world. It is founded on no precedents as to form or subject-matter. In this lies its peculiarity. In this also lies its worth. Both of these—its exceptional character and its special theme—furnish hints for soberest reflection. It is addressed to the public mind; that portion of it which is seriously and profoundly thoughtful. It is addressed to the public heart; that portion of it which is warm with the noblest emotions and quickened by the humanest sympathies and sensibilities. Its omissions, even in the way of reference, are remarkable. The chief magistrate of one of the mightiest nations of the globe, enters upon a new term of service, repeats the binding oath of his high office. He speaks—through the flashing communications of the telegraph—to his millions of constituents—to a great, free republic.

Thus speaking he has no choice of topics. He may not,—if he would utter words for the hour—indulge in any wide survey of affairs; enter upon any extended range of discourse, however concise in statement. He may not descant on foreign relations, on home enterprises, on questions relating to the resources of the land, its growing riches, its future expansion—questions directly bearing on the interests which ordinarily are quick to invite attention and demand discussion. He may not do this—and why? Because a subject transcending all these, towers before him in gigantic proportions, and presses itself upon him with overpowering weight, as the only subject of which he can treat; the only subject of which the country desires, or ought chiefly to desire, to hear. And that subject—how strange and how unwontedly momentous it is—how crowded with the history of the past—how strongly pulsating with the anxieties of the present—how immense as prophetic of the future!

We call it "*the war*!" It is more than any war ever was. "*The war*" only interprets it, debates it, strives to settle the radical antagonisms involved in it. Summoned once more to the Executive chair, to be a leader in such a crisis of the world's life, no wonder the President was lifted above the level on which political rulers usually stand, and felt himself in the very presence of the awful mystery of Providence. He clearly and solemnly states the great issue—centuries have been making up,—which is forced upon this generation for settlement. The despised and the oppressed—the rights of humanity outraged in their degradation and bondage—for these the day of adjudication and recompense has come; and this vast, rich, populous republic, must do justice to the slave to save itself—not only its territory, its wealth, its institutions for the hitherto dominant class—but its very life. Well may the President call the people, as it were, into the Court of the King of Kings, and show them their accountability and their duty towards Him. Well will it be for the people to heed this call, and in all humility, all courage, all the devotedness of stern principles and profound convictions, understand and finish the work given them to do, to atone for the past and to conquer the grand future. The closing sentences of the Address accepted in the fulness of their weighty meaning, and the spirit of them inspiring the loyalty of the nation, the conflict will not only soon end, but the ending will be the beginning of a new and blessed era alike for the victors and the vanquished.

Second Inaugural.

The President on a Biblical Rampage.

It was not our intention to indulge in a single comment upon the inaugural address delivered by Mr. Lincoln on Saturday last. But there is such a plentiful lack of statesmanship, such a marvelous display of biblical lore, and there are such extraordinary reasons for a continuance of the war presented in the address, that we are tempted to bestow a few thoughts upon that remarkable document. In reading it, the iron-clad time of the Commonwealth in England seems to come back, with all its cant and fanaticism, but wanting the vigor and strength which was a redeeming feature in that grim and gloomy age. Like the Puritans, who thought they had a divine call and mission to purge England from its sins in the time of the first Charles, Mr. Lincoln adopts the prevalent idea that he and the Northern States are God's instruments to inflict the woes of a divine retribution upon the South for the "sin of slavery;" yet, strange as it may appear, after thus stating the broad ground of action, and resting much, if not his whole case, upon this idea of the sinfulness of slavery, he, in the next paragraph, accepts American slavery as one of those things which originated in the Providence of God, and which now, having run its appointed time, is about being removed by the agency of the Abolition party, and by the bloody and remorseless sword. But where is the evidence that Mr. Lincoln, or his party, or the Northern States, have been selected by the Master of all things to be His instruments in His work which they say is to be accomplished? Has Mr. Lincoln or any of his subordinates

received a special revelation upon this point? When Moses was raised up to be the deliverer of the chosen people he gave such proofs of his [next line unreadable] as to satisfy all that he was no ordinary person. But the Abolition party of to-day, like the Roundheads of the Revolution in England, give no proof of their divine call. They, indeed, claim the fact that the war is allowed to continue as testimony in its favor, and also as a Divine attestation to the rightfulness of their mission. But that position starts the question, have no wars occurred by permission alone, and not by express Providential arrangement? Was Russia the instrument of God for the punishment of Poland; or Austria of Hungary? We suppose the fanatics and those by whose action the Polish and Hungarian wars were commenced and contributed would say so; but that is not the belief of any considerable portion of the people of the civilized or Christian world. It is one of the qualities of fanaticism to claim to be doing the will of God,

though acting in violation of all the laws of decency and humanity. The history of Puritanism in this country is full of such cases. They robbed, cheated, plundered and murdered the Indian for the good of the red man's soul. The Quakers and Baptists were scourged, fined, imprisoned and banished in order to promote their spiritual welfare. And now the same spirit is manifested with regard to those who are charged with the "sin of slavery." They are now waging this war for the extirpation of slavery; and they seek to justify themselves by aggravating the evils of slavery, and placing themselves, as they suppose, under Divine protection as agents of the Divine government. This is the attitude assumed by the President; but has he or the party which he represents considered the responsibilities of the position they have thus assumed in the face of the world and before God, who ruleth in wisdom and justice?

Let us look at this question from the standpoint of Mr. Lincoln's inaugural, and see what we have reason to expect in the future. The Abolition party now in power has committed the North to a merciless crusade against the South, purely on the sinfulness of slavery, a domestic institution, of the sinfulness of which, if it be sinful, no part lies at our door, we having long since abolished it in a peaceful and legitimate manner. Out of this question has come a war, and to escape the reproaches of the world for being the procuring cause of this inhuman strife between brothers, the President now assumes the ground that he and the Abolition party are God's instruments to carry out His will in relation to this matter. Now, if this impious claim were admitted

to be well founded, does it follow that there is no responsibility attached to the agent? In what manner has the Divine government been exhibited in this relation? Israel was God's chosen people. They rebelled. God determined to punish them. For that purpose he used the Assyrians and Chaldeans. War came upon them and then captivity. In the case of the Assyrian and Chaldean monarchies, it is expressly stated in Holy Writ that they were the agents of the Divine government to perform a specific task. That fact is not left to dim conjecture. And yet were not those nations held to a fearful account and responsibility for the manner in which they executed the task? God employed them to carry out a portion of his will, and he utterly destroyed them for the manner in which they executed that work--for the needless and unnecessary severities, cruelties, and murders which disgraced their conduct in regard to the people of Israel. When they allowed hatred and malice and

ambition to be the motive power, instead of truth, justice and righteousness; when they would not heed the warnings of the wise and the good, but fanatically persecuted the Jews, then came the [unreadable] words of the prophet, "As ye have done unto these my people, so will I do unto ye." In their pride and power they were stricken, when

The Assyrian came down like the wolf on the fold,
And his cohorts were gleaming in purple and gold.

God's might was put forth against them; the sword fell upon them; and they passed away from the earth. They assumed responsibilities, failed to discharge them from right motives, and in a proper manner, and behold the end.

Now, how run those cases with that which has been set up by Mr. Lincoln and the Abolition party on this question of slavery? If he invoke the divine record he must stand or fall by that infallible rule of action, as well national as personal. Admitting the agency, how has it been carried out? Have he and his party been governed at all times by that pure standard of justice, truth and morality, which has the Divine Ruler of the universe for its author? Have they ordered or permitted injustice or cruelty, when their object could be reached by means more consistent with the attributes of that power whose agents they claim to be? Have no towns been plundered and destroyed, no homes burned, no husbands murdered, no wives insulted, no children turned foodless and raimentless into the cold winter nights, in order to build up a political party, and insure a countenance [sic] of political power? Have thousands of the persons about whose welfare they claim to be so solicitous, and to effect whose deliverance they assume to be the agents of Divine authority, been suffered to sink into the most beastly and revolting practices, instead of being made the special objects of their Christian care and attention?

In one word, have Mr. Lincoln and his party, like the Assyrian and Chaldean powers, been unfaithful agents, and are they therefore open to the manifestations that fell upon those kingdoms? These are the points to which Mr. Lincoln invites attention by his late display of piety and biblical learning. If this war [next line is unreadable] slavery platform, "woe to that man by whom the offense cometh," and if Mr. Lincoln and his party are to be measured by

that rule of divine justice, which was measured out to the Assyrian and Chaldean Empires and people for their sins and shortcomings as agents of God on earth, woe to that party in all its after prospects. We have tried the President and his own party by his own standard, and a just and Christian people shall pronounce the verdict.

The Age (Philadelphia), March 8, 1865, p. 2.

Second Inaugural.

Mr. Lincoln on Providence and the War.

The New York World of Monday [March 6, 1865] has a clever editorial from which we take the following:

Things have turned out so differently from what Mr. Lincoln expected when he was inaugurated before, that he is "astounded." Paralyzed by amazement, he has no confidence to predict any end to the war. Nobody, he says, "expected for the war the magnitude or the duration it has already attained." Already! This is the language of an astounded statesman who, having lost all hold of any stable principles of judging, apprehends that the war may, for aught he can tell, swell to proportions still more fearful than it has yet attained. And so, abandoning all pretense of statesmanship of which there is no vestige or semblance in this strange inaugural--Mr. Lincoln takes refuge in piety. If this hideous calamity of intestine war is not the fruit of human passion, folly, infatuation, and in capacity, but the work of God, then may Mr. Lincoln stand excused for the feebleness of his statesmanship; and even Mr. Davis ought to be forgiven for his pre-ordained persistence in rebellion. If we are to believe the "astounded" statesman who is to take another turn at the helm, this gigantic crime is the Lord's doings, and it is marvelous in Mr. Lincoln's eyes; as it must, indeed, be in the eyes of everybody who adopts his pious theory!

And so our puzzled, "astounded," and pious President, giving over all attempts to solve the problem offered to his statesmanship, falls to speculating on the comparative efficacy of opposite prayers offered to the same God. This point, as well as the governmental questions which Mr. Lincoln abstains from touching, seems too difficult for his powers; and although he does not exactly see how slaveholders can have the effrontery to pray to God at all, he will form no judgment, he says, on the subject, lest he should be judged himself. But without quite disputing the right of any class of sinners to pray, Mr. Lincoln ventures to hope that his prayers have a better chance to be heard than the counter prayer of the rebels in calling down slaughter upon us. But on

that point he speaks with the modest indecision characteristic of the man. "The prayers of both should not be answered;"--which is as near as he can come to committing himself to the opinion that one party or the other must fail. But he finds in the experienced fruits of four years' praying no certain indication of which will be the successful party in what he, with curious reverence, is pleased to represent as a praying-match: "That of neither," he says, "has been fully answered. God has his own purposes." Mr. Lincoln rises in his devotional fervor into a sort of dithyrambic, sliding into rhyme as unconsciously as Monsieur Jourdain has spoken prose all his life without suspecting himself of that accomplishment. His poetry will compare favorably with his piety; we merely break it into lines, which the copyist for the telegraph omitted to do. Says Mr. Lincoln, verbatim et literatim:

"Fondly do we hope,
Fervently do we pray
That this mighty scourge of war
May speedily pass away."

Amen! say we; and let all the people say, Amen! We join in the prayer, but have no expectation that God will hear it in any other way than by sanctifying the means which he leaves human statesmanship to devise. We have no faith in staying the cholera by marching in a procession with a black image of the Virgin; or the more terrible scourge of war by calling God's attention to the condition of the black race.

The superabounding piety of Mr. Lincoln's inaugural is as admirably reasoned as it is appropriate in a state paper of this kind, where a simple recognition of the power and providence of the Supreme Being is all that was ever before thought becoming. If it be doubtful whether God will listen to the prayers of slaveholders, may it not also be a little uncertain whether he is pleased with the piety of a libeler? Mister Lincoln doubts whether Divine Justice may not have decided to continue this war until the whole amount of blood shed by the sword shall equal that drawn from the Southern slaves by the lash! With what face can a statesman stand up in the face of the world with the language of piety in his mouth, and put forth this deliberate calumny on a part of his countrymen? This has been the bloodiest war in history, and Mr. Lincoln charges on the Southern people the monstrous cruelty of having drawn so much blood from their slaves by the unmerciful use of the lash, that, counting drop against drop, all that has been shed in this most sanguinary war does not yet equal what has trickled from the lacerated backs of the negroes. Does he think

this odious libel has any tendency to hasten the fulfillment of his prayer for peace?

This representation of the purposes of the Deity in the prolongation of the war gives an elevated conception of the Divine character. For, whose blood is it that flows in this terrible war as an offset to that whipped out of the negroes? Is it only that of brutal miscreants who have practiced cruelty upon slaves? Would to heaven it were so. According to Mr. Lincoln, the youth torn from their homes by conscriptions, to be slain or mangled on the battle-field, are expiatory victims to atone for the cruelties of heartless slave-drivers. Is there justice in that? The President of the United States says that if God continues the war for the purpose of appeasing the negro blood that cries for vengeance, it must be said "that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

Instead of regarding God as the author or the abettor of this horrible war, it would seem more consistent with humility, at least, to ascribe it to the unhallowed sectional passions and the accursed personal ambition which were the visible agencies in bringing it on. Instead of supposing that He ordains its continuance as a means of balancing a great ledger of blood, it accords better with our actual knowledge to say that the war has been protracted by the joint influence of administrative incapacity on one side, and stiff necked obstinacy in rebellion on the other. The Bible in answering the question, "whence came wars and fightings among you?" traces them to quite another source than that discovered by the marvelous piety of our grotesque President. If the sin of slavery calls for this particular form of vengeance, how does it happen that though slavbery has, till quite a recent period, been universal, this is the only great war, in all the records of desolation, in which slavery has made such a figure? It is but a few centuries since slavery was universal throughout Christendom; but the mode of its abolition in most European countries were [sic] so quiet, obscure, and gradual that the diligence of historians is scarcely able to trace it. Does not Mr. Lincoln think that the Being whose character he so piously depicts is also the God of the Eastern Hemisphere?

The barrenness of this inaugural in all ideas that belong to the province of statesmanship, and the substitution therefor of a type of piety almost as rational and enlightened as that which ascribes the melancholy caused by a fit of indigestion to "the hiding of the Divine countenance," or that which makes children

believe blisters will come on their tongues if they tell lies, will give to foreign nations an exalted idea of the abilities of the President we have re-elected to grapple with such a crisis as is now upon us.

The Age (Philadelphia), March 9, 1865, p. 1.

From the Spectator, 18th March.

ENGLISH OPINION ON THE INAUGURAL.

On the 4th inst., the day of inaugurating his second term, President Lincoln read a short State paper, which for political weight, moral dignity, and unaffected solemnity has had no equal in our time. His presidency began, he says, with the effort of both parties to avoid war. "To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend the slave interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union by war, while the Government claimed the right to do no more than restrict the territorial enlargement of it." Both parties "read the same Bible and pray to the same God. Each invokes his aid against the other. . . The prayer of both

cannot be answered, that of neither has been answered fully, for the Almighty has His own purposes." Mr. Lincoln goes on to confess for the North its partnership in the original guilt of slavery: — "Woe unto the world because of offences, for it must needs be that offences come; but woe unto that man by whom the offence cometh!" If we shall suppose American slavery one of those offences which in the providence of God must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that He gives to both

North and South this terrible war, as was due to those by whom the offence came, we shall not discern that there is any departure from those divine attributes which believers in the living God always ascribe to Him. Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if it be God's will that it continue until the wealth piled by bondsmen by 250 years' unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be repaid by another drawn with the sword, as was said 3,000 years ago, so still it must be said that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether. With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to

bind up the nation's wounds, to care for those who shall have borne the battle, and for their widows and orphans. And with all this let us strive after a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations." No statesman ever uttered words stamped at once with the seal of so deep a wisdom and so true a simplicity. The "village attorney" of whom Sir G. C. Lewis and many other wise men wrote with so much scorn in 1861, seems destined to be one of those "foolish things of the world" which are destined to confound the wise, one of those weak things which shall "confound the things which are mighty."

From the Saturday Review, 18th March.

If it had been composed by any other prominent American politician, it would have been boastful, confident, and menacing. The actual document is mournful, religious, and humble, and it expresses no sentiment of anger or unkindness even to the armed enemies of the Union. The President regards both combatants as the instruments and victims of a just retribution for a common crime. Four years ago, as he says, neither North nor South foresaw coming events, although an insoluble difficulty involved the necessity of war. Both accept the same fundamental faith and morality, and Mr. Lincoln declines to judge his adversaries, in the knowledge that he may himself be judged. His unshaken purpose of continuing the war until it ends in victory assumes the form of resigned submission to the inscrutable decrees of a superior Power. Mr. Lincoln has probably never read Wordsworth's poems, but mournful experience has taught him to reproduce, with remarkable identity

of thought and feeling, the well-known paradox of the poet: —

"Thy most dreaded instrument
For working out a pure intent
Is man arrayed for mutual slaughter:
Yea, Carnage is thy daughter."

There is no reason to doubt Mr. Lincoln's perfect sincerity; and his earnest belief in the doctrines which are held by the great majority of his countrymen will give additional weight to his warning voice.

From the Times, 17 March.

For the first time since the days of Gen. Jackson's immense popularity, an American President has been inaugurated for the second time. The circumstances under which Mr. Lincoln assumes office for another term of four years are so strange and impressive that they may justify an address full of a kind of Cromwellian diction, and breathing a spirit very different from the usual unearnest utterances of successful politicians. This short inaugural speech reveals the disposition and the opinions of the Federal Magistrate more completely than many of the verbose compositions which have proceeded from his predecessors. We cannot but see that the President, placed in the most important position to which a statesman can aspire, invested with a power greater than that of most monarchs, fulfils the duties which destiny has imposed on him with firmness and conscientiousness, but without any feeling of exhilaration at success or sanguine anticipation of coming prosperity.

The brief allusion to the expectations of the two parties during the early days of the war shows what is passing through the mind of the Chief Magistrate when he looks back to four years of slaughter, and turns round to gaze into the black darkness which shrouds the future. All dreaded the war, all sought to avoid it. When the last inaugural address was delivered, secession was but half accomplished. Virginian officers attended President Lincoln for two months after his installation, and many of them left the Federal capital with unwilling hearts to fight in the cause to which they felt themselves bound. This war was not a thing that came suddenly or without deliberation. Everything that could be said for it or against it was freely uttered before the first great armies were in the field. President Buchanan thought it impossible to restrain the action of a State. On the other hand, there had never been wanting

THE PRESIDENT'S INAUGURAL ABROAD.

Except from the rebel newspapers and the Copperhead organs of the North, the late inaugural address of President Lincoln has received unqualified praise from the influential journals of every country where it has been received. The London *Spectator* calls it a "State paper which, for political weight, moral dignity, and unaffected solemnity has had no equal in our time." Further on in the same article it says: "No statesman ever uttered words stamped at once with the seal of so deep a wisdom and so true a simplicity. The 'village attorney,' of whom Sir G. C. Lewis and many other wise men wrote with so much scorn in 1861, seems destined to be one of those 'foolish things of the world,' which are destined to confound the wise, one of those weak things which shall 'confound the things which are mighty.'"

The London *Times*, in a leader over a column long, says: "The circumstances under which Mr. Lincoln assumes office for another term of four years are so strange and impressive, that they may justify an address full of a kind of Cromwellian diction, and breathing a spirit very different from the usual unearnest utterances of successful politicians. This short, inaugural speech reveals the disposition and the opinions of the Federal Magistrate more completely than many of the verbose compositions which have proceeded from his predecessors. We cannot but see that the President, placed in the most important position to which a statesman can aspire, invested with a power greater than that of most monarchs, fulfils the duties which destiny has imposed on him with firmness and conscientiousness, but without any feeling of exhilaration at success or sanguine anticipation of coming prosperity."

When the President had concluded, there was great cheering among the multitude. At the same moment grand salutes of one hundred guns were fired from various parts of the city, making a roar of artillery such as has never before been heard in Washington.

The President received the congratulations of the Chief Justice and many others on the platform. The procession re-formed and returned to the Senate Chamber. Soon afterwards the President and suite departed to their carriages, and the grand procession returned to the White House, being greeted with the congratulatory cheers of thousands along the avenue.

The last inaugural of President LINCOLN made a strong impression in England. The *British Standard* speaks of it as "the most remarkable thing of the sort ever pronounced by any President of the United States from the first day until now. Its Alpha and its Omega is *Almighty God*, the God of justice and the Father of mercies, who is working out the purposes of his love. It is invested with a dignity and pathos, which lift it high above everything of the kind, whether in the Old World or the New. The whole thing puts us in mind of the best men of the English Commonwealth; there is, in fact, much of the old prophet about it."

The Reported Plot to Assassinate the President.

The report that a man named Thomas Clements had matured his plans for the assassination of the President on the inauguration day had its origin in the following facts:

Clements and another person came from Alexandria, Va., on Saturday. They were both extremely disorderly and seemed to have been drinking freely. Clements, in particular, was very abusive and said, using gross and profane language, that he came here to kill the President, that he was late by about one-half an hour, and that his Saviour would never forgive him for failing to do so, that he would do it that night, namely, the fifth of March, and that he came expressly to do it, and he would do it before he left town. He further said the government had robbed him of a certain sum of money. This is the substance of an affidavit. Clements has been turned over from the military to the civil authorities, and has been committed for trial.

MR. GLADSTONE ON MR. LINCOLN. The effect of President Lincoln's Inaugural abroad, especially in England, was so marked as almost to revolutionize the opinion, or at least the expression, of his most bitter opponents. Even the *Saturday Review*, dropping its usual mocking tone of comment, did justice to the dignity and religious elevation of Mr. Lincoln's character. A correspondent of the *Philadelphia North American*, in an account of an interview with Mr. Gladstone, thus records the views of that ablest and most eloquent of living English statesmen:

I ventured to express the hope that he appreciated the advantage the United States had had in this great crisis in the admirable character of the President. He replied at once, with much animation, that he did entirely. He had always, he said, thought well of Mr. Lincoln, as probably as good a leader as the country could have, but his recent address on his inauguration showed a moral elevation which commanded the respect of every right feeling man. "I am taken captive," Mr. Gladstone said, in substance, "by so striking an utterance as this. I see in it the effect of sharp trial when rightly borne to raise men to a higher level of thought and feeling than they could otherwise reach. It is by cruel suffering that nations are born to a better life, and to individuals, of course, a like experience produces a like result."

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As Lincoln Spoke in '65, So His Spirit Speaks To-day.

The closing words of LINCOLN'S second inaugural address were in part a dedication of the American people to the task of repairing the damage wrought by four years of civil war, and to the even greater task of laying the foundations of a lasting peace. Those words applied then to the specific situation in which the United States found itself, and they apply to-day in equal measure to all the world in the chaotic situation in which it finds itself:

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

There could be no better dedication of the United States to-day to the work imposed upon it by the world war. There could be no better dedication of the nations that were engaged with the United States in that great war.

The problems of reconstruction LINCOLN saw before him as the civil war ended were comparable in their nature to those that in increasing rather than in diminishing degree beset Europe to-day. But the spirit in which LINCOLN called on Americans to approach them was large enough to meet any issue that confronts the torn and exhausted world we know.

If there is anything which can do more to keep back the day of renewed security and peace than malice among nations the world has yet to learn what it is. If there is anything that can do more to advance that day than the spirit of charity among men and among nations it is a remedy the world has yet to discover. And whatever the disappointments and disillusionments that have so far blocked the coming of that day there is nothing more certain than that we must strive on to finish the work we are in.

Malice has worked evil in Europe since the war, and malice engenders malice. Only through charity and forbearance and the determination to see the right and do it can Europe be made whole and sound. Without the spirit of LINCOLN'S immortal message to sustain it the result of

REMAKING THE UNION LINCOLN'S GREAT TASK

Northern Critics Tried to Block His Plan to Bring Erring States Back Into the Fold — The Fruitless Conference With Delegates From the South

"IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN"

by IDA M. TARBELL

It will be remembered by those who have been following this story of Mr. Lincoln's thinking and acting that in his first inaugural he gave it as his opinion that no State could lawfully take itself out of the Union, that all its resolutions and ordinances to that effect were legally void.

Consistently, from first to last he treated the States that linked themselves into the Confederacy as in insurrection, refusing to be trapped into any expression that could be twisted to mean that he thought himself dealing with an enemy State—he was trying to subdue insurgents, whose leaders were not officers of another Government, as they insisted themselves to be, but citizens of the United States, who had risen against their own country.

This way of looking at it made reconstruction a comparatively easy matter. As soon as the Union armies had driven the insurgents from any particular district, then it was his business to reestablish order there and as rapidly as possible set up again the former civil agencies for directing affairs.

Louisiana the First

The first practical step towards this was a military administration in each bit of country redeemed. This meant a military Governor over the people.

There were strong objections naturally to this. Many loyal persons in Louisiana, for instance, where such a rule was established early in 1862, resented it and believed it unnecessary. They complained to Lincoln that Union sentiment was being crushed by the methods he was adopting.

He did not mince matters in replying. "The people in Louisiana," he said, "know well enough that I never had a wish to touch the foundations of their society or any right of theirs. With perfect knowledge of this they forced a necessity upon me to send armies upon them, and it is their own fault, not mine, that they are annoyed by the presence of Gen Phelps (the military Governor). They also know the remedy, know how to be cured of Gen Phelps. They know very well that the one way to avert all this is simply to take their place in the Union upon the old terms."

Military Governors were kept in Louisiana pending the people's doing what he urged and provisional civil courts were soon added to the military establishment in the redeemed districts.

His Amnesty Proclamation

In the Fall of 1862 Lincoln made his first appointments for the Louisiana Courts. The appointees were all from the North, the salaries fair for the time. It was the beginning of a system which was to do enormous mischief in the South and to draw again to Washington a horde of office seekers.

By the Spring of 1863 Senator Dawes of Massachusetts declared that the result of this provision was that there were numbers of men in Washington and scattered through the North who had been appointed to judgeships or other court positions in the seceded States, all drawing salaries although they had never set foot inside the territory over whose courts they had been appointed—nor did they dare to.

Whatever the abuses, there was a steady progress toward order in every section from which the insurgents were driven. By the end of 1863 more and more people were willing to admit they were beaten and glad to do their part toward restoring civil government and again enjoying their old relation to the Federal Government.

Lincoln by the end of 1863 was ready with a tentative scheme which he made known in what he called a "Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction." He sent it out when he sent his December message to Congress.

What he offered was a full pardon to all, excepting the leaders in the secession movement, who would take the oath which he included in his proclamation. All property, except that in slaves, was to go back to them. He also proclaimed that wherever a number of persons in a State—not fewer than one-tenth of the number of voters before the war—should establish a State government, republican in form, it would be recognized by the United States.

Differences in the North

In discussing the Amnesty Proclamation in his message he made no great claims for it. It was made, he said, in the hope that it might do good without danger of doing harm. He thought it would save labor and avoid confusion.

Some of the States seemed ready for reconstruction, others seemed to need a rallying point, a plan of action. He thought the proclamation might be a rallying point. And he added the wise observation that he had taken care not to commit himself on points which could be more safely left to further development.

Lincoln did not put out the proclamation without submitting it to his Cabinet, and he had the distinct approval of every member of it. There was not a single objection to it from any professed Emancipator until after the news reached Washington that the people in Louisiana had begun to move in accordance with it.

Then differences began to develop. Reconstruction began to be discussed in earnest when it was realized that a State like Louisiana which had been in rebellion was actually coming back into the Union, that in all probabilities the military authorities and provisional courts would soon be moved, that the State would be running its own affairs, in its old way, electing members to Congress and going ahead as if it had never been in rebellion.

It was too much for many of Lincoln's own party, and there soon developed theories, methods and a temper of reconstruction sharply different from his.

Sumner and Stevens

There was Charles Sumner, whose theory was that the States which had seceded had committed suicide, no longer existed as States. Since this was true he claimed their peculiar institutions no longer had any legal sanction, so that everywhere in the seceded territory slavery had, in the Senator's judgment, already ceased to exist.

Now, all of this was quite opposed to Mr. Lincoln's thinking, and to the thinking of many of his friends. Montgomery Blair was almost violent in his public criticism of Sumner's idea.

Lincoln was not greatly moved by the arguments of either man. The controversy between them was one of mere form and little else.

One of the most violent objectors to Lincoln's plans was Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania. "If a State as a State makes war on the Government and becomes a belligerent power," he declared, "we should treat it as a foreign Nation and when we conquer it we treat it just as we do any other foreign Nation." He was for treating the Southern States as conquered provinces, settling them with new men, driving the rebels as exiles from the country.

Even a man like George Boutwell of Massachusetts declared that if he could direct the force of public sentiment and the policy of the Government, South Carolina as a State and with a name should never reappear in this Union. "Georgia deserves a like fate," he added, "and Florida does not deserve a name in this Union."

Congress' Reconstruction Plan

All through the session that opened in December of 1863 the matter was argued in Senate and House with terrible bitterness. The debates centered around a reconstruction bill that Henry Winter Davis had reported from the "Committee on Rebellious States," a bill which finally passed the House in May of 1864, and went at once to the Senate Committee on Territories.

Briefly, Davis' bill authorized the President to appoint a provisional governor in each of the States that had been declared in rebellion; this governor was to enroll the voters and arrange for a convention. No person who had exercised any civil, military, State or Confederate office under the rebel occupation or had voluntarily borne arms against the United States could vote or be eligible as a delegate. The provisions of the bill were much more rigid and drastic than Lincoln had thought so far wise and its temper was harsh and revengeful—the very opposite of Lincoln's.

When the bill reached the Senate Senator Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio was its chief supporter and outdid Davis himself.

The bill did not get out of the Congress until just at the close of the session. Lincoln had never seen it—though of course he had followed its progress—until it was laid before him as he was signing bills in his room at the Capitol.

When the document was laid before him and he quietly put it aside and went on with his signing, there was almost panic among its supporters. Did he not mean to accept it? It meant the defeat of the party if he did not.

Backed Up by the People

"This bill and the position of these gentlemen," he told the Cabinet, "seem to me to make the fatal admission that States, whenever they please, may at their own motion sever their connection with the Union. If that be true, I am not President, and these gentlemen are not Congress. I thought it much better if it were possible to restore the Union without the necessity of a violent quarrel among its friends as to whether certain States have been in or out of the Union during the war—a merely metaphysical question and one unnecessary to be forced into discussion."

He knew the danger he was running in refusing to sign it—knew it meant a redoubled attack upon him in the coming campaign. However, he proposed that his opponents should make as little capital as possible out of this decision and he accordingly "went to the country" in a proclamation explaining his reasons for rejecting the bill.

This was about the last thing the radicals wanted, for his reasonableness, clearness and kindness in these appeals to the public always put an opponent at a disadvantage. The country accepted his explanation.

Davis and Wade, furious at the result, issued in August, at the time when Lincoln's reelection seemed the least probable, made the most violent public attack he had ever suffered.

The manifesto acted as a good deal of a boomerang. Ohio blamed Wade and Maryland defeated Davis in the next election. In the meantime even Horace Greeley approved the President's refusal to let the Davis-Wade bill become a law.

Turning the Tables

But if his enemies in Congress failed this time they were not done with him.

Nor did his reelection by so overwhelming a majority put an end to their opposition. They got a chance indirectly to attack him when the matter of counting the electoral votes came up in February.

Louisiana and Arkansas had held elections and sent electors. The Congress refused to receive them, and passed a resolution declaring that the States from which they came were not entitled to representation in the electoral college.

There was probably some hope among its authors that he would veto it—give them fresh ammunition, but he failed them, signing it and returning it with a communication which is one of his nicest bits of indirect repartee.

He signed the bill, he said, in deference to the view of Congress, but there was no reason for such a bill; the two houses of Congress had complete power to exclude from counting all electoral votes deemed by them to be illegal and it was not competent for the executive to defeat or obstruct that power by a veto, as would be the case if his action were at all essential in the matter.

In signing he disclaimed all right of the Executive to interfere in any way in the matter of canvassing or counting electoral votes, and he also disclaimed that by signing he expressed any opinion as to the wisdom of Congress in refusing to admit the electors. Little wonder that its authors, who thought they "had" him, writhed at his neat turning of the tables.

Futile Peace Conference

Through the insistence of Frank Blair, a former friend of Jefferson Davis, a conference was arranged between Lincoln and Seward and commissioners of the Confederacy, one of them Lincoln's old Congressional friend, Alexander H. Stevens, now vice president of the Confederacy, for discussing an armistice and peace terms.

The conference was held at Hampton Roads and though they talked for four hours and parted without bitterness, the terms that Lincoln had set as indispensable before the meeting were those he was offering at the end:

1. The restoration of the National authority throughout all the States;
2. No seceding by the Executive of the United States on the slavery question assumed by him in the late annual message to Congress and in preceding documents;
3. No cessation of hostilities short

of an end of the war and the disbanding of all the forces hostile to the Government.

Immovable as he was on these three points, he repeatedly in conversation and in his writings insisting on these things, reiterated his desire that there should be no after-punishments, no vindictiveness following surrender. He would make it as easy for everybody as he could, and that was the temper in which he came in March to his second inaugural

The Second Inaugural

Lincoln's inauguration in March of 1865 had none of the dramatic features of that of four years before. Indeed it was hardly an occasion. To him it seems to have been little more than an incident.

The inaugural address was short—only a few hundred words. There was, as he said, little occasion for an extended address, little new that could be said. "The Almighty has his own purposes," he said.

"If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but having continued through His appointed time He now wills to remove and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him?"

The war had come because of National offense, the Nation must suffer. And since all had offended and all suffered let us all alike be merciful—"With malice towards none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all Nations."

He was serving notice on Congress, on the North and South, that in the work to which they now must lay their hands, that of restoring the Union, they could only expect from his charity, tolerance, mercy.

And it was in this temper that he faced the end of his life—that violent end to which the next chapter in this series will be devoted.

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LINCOLN'S IMMORTAL PHRASES HAVE PECULIAR APPLICATION TO PRESENT DAYS

When that Civil War which "both parties deprecated" was drawing to a close in America and the great task of reconstruction lay ahead Abraham Lincoln fashioned a phrase which his countrymen will long remember. It was "with malice toward none and charity for all" that he wished this task of reconstruction to be undertaken.

These are words we cherish, and frequently ignore. Within this decade we have been summoned to mighty reconstruction efforts; we are in the midst of some right now. It is likely that we have added to the weight of certain problems by the manner in which we have carried on controversies. A Nation which will always have room for the serious discussion of questions and welcome honest criticism as an agency for constructive good may often widen the limits of the range of disagreement until they include arguments without charity.

Men in public and private life have sought with seeming deliberation to appeal to class distinctions and prejudices. We have heard intemperate utterances from high officials who, when they have had chance to reflect—or have seen their words in cold type—have

expressed regret. Too often, we must admit, the phrases struck off by molders of opinion, representatives of the public, and others have been cast in pattern not like that of Lincoln's appeal for tolerance and fair play. It has become a style to put barbs in oratory; to seek the limelight by calling names, and designate opposing groups as ones inherently evil.

At a time when there is much organized propaganda of intolerance, when it is all too easy for all factions to employ tactics of vituperation and when hurried events and dis-appointments make for uneasy tempers, Americans may well go back to Abraham Lincoln who set an example by refusing to be drawn down to the level of unfair attack. Those in position of official responsibility have greatest opportunity, by virtue of the forum in which they speak and the authority they command, to fix the tone of popular discussion of the issues of the day.

The rich inheritances of the American people, a national unity which more than ever should be conserved, will live and grow the stronger if, to the best of ability, we cherish malice toward none and show charity for all.

The Saturday Evening Post

PHILADELPHIA, FEBRUARY 12, 1938

With Malice Toward None

LINCOLN had a good opinion of his own Second Inaugural and prophesied correctly about it. Writing to Thurlow Weed on March 15, 1865, he said: "Thank you for yours on my little notification speech and on the recent inaugural address. I expect the latter to wear as well as—perhaps better than—anything I have produced." His expectation has been realized. With the exception of his great definition of democracy, "Of the people, by the people, for the people"—a phrase which incidentally is not original with him but goes back to old John Wycliffe—no words of Lincoln have worn so well as his appeal to the American people to be firm in the right, as God has given them to see the right, with malice toward none, with charity for all.

It was not the only occasion on which Lincoln prayed, so to speak, to be saved from malice. He penned the Second Inaugural a short six weeks before his death, and we are free to suppose that a dim foreboding may have lent to his words the exaltation of an unstudied Farewell Address. But there is a letter of his to Cuthbert Bullitt, written nearly three years earlier, not long after the capture of New Orleans, and dealing with reconstruction in Louisiana. His concluding words are: "I shall do nothing in malice. What I deal with is too vast for malicious dealing."

Too vast for malicious dealing—can any words better sum up the whole duty of governments and of chiefs of state? The responsibilities of government are at all times too vast a thing for malice, or for the appearance of malice. This is even more emphatically true in troubled and anxious times. A difficult situation may well become an alarming situation if the steersman, not the passengers, goes in for rocking the boat; if the captain on the bridge surrenders to a vocabulary of panic. It does not promote national confidence or national discipline when Administration spokesmen rail against aristocratic anarchists' unleashing their bulldogs of the press as part of a general conspiracy against the nation's well-being. It does not promote domestic peace if legitimate democratic criticism of government policy is always to be denounced as Fascism, and a straightforward, open, democratic protest becomes Sabotage.

Today there are loose in the world the doctrines of hate and war. Irreconcilable ideologies of conflict agree in only one thing, and that is in preaching war to the knife. In our old democratic way of life, a victorious majority is charged with a trust to be administered for the benefit of the whole body of the people. The new doctrines of domestic war love to play with the thought of beating down minorities and stamping out opposition and crushing enemies and storming hostile camps. It is not the language of civil governance, but of war; and this at a time when men's nerves are on edge and panic may so easily be let loose.

Ours is a situation which calls for the magnanimity, the charity, the humorous tolerance which Lincoln displayed in the dread ordeal of an actual Civil War. It is a situation, too, which offers the democratic statesman a magnificent chance for his permanent place in history. Precisely in this din of rival Red and White ideologies, preaching progress by extermination is the opportunity for the greatest democracy in the world to reassert its faith in the democratic procedure of live and let live. Such a bold rejection of the new war cries by the head of the American democracy might well act as a cleansing thunderstorm in a world atmosphere surcharged with the poison vapors of hate and violence. Contrariwise, if the biggest and richest and safest of all democracies goes in for the terminology and techniques of social hate, and the democratic salt loses its savor, it is a sad outlook for free government anywhere.

LINCOLN LORE

Bulletin of the Lincoln National Life Foundation - - - - - Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor
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March 4, 1940

COMMENTS ON THE SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Seventy-five years ago today Abraham Lincoln delivered the most remarkable inaugural address which has ever been given by a president of the nation and possibly the most outstanding official document from the viewpoint of literary merit which has been composed during the history of the Anglo Saxon race. The *London Times* referred to it as "the most sublime state paper of the century."

The address is not only a fine composition of English but it reveals the very character of the man who wrote it. There is no attempt on the part of the President to use this address as political propaganda for the party in power or to abuse the insurgent forces then in arms against the Government. It is a frank expression of just how Abraham Lincoln felt about the state of the nation.

The two words of salutation "Fellow-countrymen" offer a good example of the fine choice of language which Lincoln used throughout the entire address. So free from hackneyed form, even these opening words removed any barrier which might prejudice his appeal to the whole country, north and south.

Propriety

Abraham Lincoln always seemed to be concerned about the appropriateness of his remarks on anniversary or dedication occasions. When he prepared his first annual national Thanksgiving Proclamation on October 3, 1863, he wrote "It has seemed to me *fit and proper*" that God's mercy should be remembered. In preparing the Gettysburg Address for deliverance on November 19, 1863, he wrote with respect to dedicating a portion of the battlefield as a cemetery, "It is altogether *fitting and proper* that we should do this." In his Second Inaugural Lincoln mentioned that at the time of the First Inaugural "a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed *fitting and proper*." Thus in the Proclamation, the Gettysburg Address, and the Second Inaugural he used the characteristic phrase "fitting and proper."

Humility

One of the first impressions received from a reading of the address is the humble spirit of the man who wrote it. Absolutely free from egotism he takes no credit for himself and on only one occasion uses the personal pronoun "I". Although on the very brink of immortality with his name continuously associated with the mighty Washington he assumes no attitude of superiority and shows no feeling of bigotry. The absence of any display of braggadocio for either self or party is especially appreciated in a world where dictators seem to feel and express their own importance. Lincoln could only say, "With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured."

Sincerity

The absolute frankness of the entire message is refreshing indeed in a world where executives keep the general public in ignorance about the plans and purposes of government. Lincoln said "The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself." With respect to the progress of the war the same sincerity is displayed in these words, "Neither party expected for this war the magnitude which it has already attained. . . . Each looked for an easier triumph with a result less fundamental and astounding." Lincoln's readiness to admit that he had not been able to visualize the importance and far-reaching influence of the contest stands out pre-

eminently in an age of dictators who claim infallibility as one of their many attainments.

Faith

Upon reading the Second Inaugural Address one is convinced that the author was a man with a deep and abiding faith in God. The paragraph on "The Almighty has his own purposes" is one of the most eloquent testimonials of faith that has been written. Here Lincoln clearly reveals his fervent supplication for peace, his recognition of justice, and finally, borrowing from the scriptures an adequate expression of his own faith, he affirms, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

The exposition on the doctrine of divine retribution is by far the most impressive comment in the address. On April 4, 1865, Lincoln wrote a letter to A. G. Hodges of Frankfort, Kentucky, in which he commented at length on the slavery and emancipation question. He summarized his argument with this statement, "If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North, as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God."

A week or two after the inaugural Lincoln replied to a letter from Thurlow Weed, who had complimented him on the address, in these words: "Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of purpose between the Almighty and them. To deny it however, in this case, is to deny that there is a God governing the world."

While it is well known that Lincoln was not affiliated with any organized church group the Second Inaugural Address alone presents sufficient evidence that he was devoutly religious. One-half of the entire address is couched in Biblical lore and six times he mentions the word God and in eight additional instances refers to divinity. One-third of the entire address, or to be exact, two hundred and sixty-six of the seven hundred and two words used in the address were direct quotations from the Bible and words of application made to them.

Charity

Charity has been called the supreme virtue of the Christian faith. Nowhere in high places has it found a more sincere and genuine expression than in the life of Abraham Lincoln. One has called him "the gentlest memory since Christ."

The Second Inaugural Address is referred to as Lincoln's Sermon on the Mount because of its Christ-like sentiments. In one instance, where the President seems to be disturbed about some men professing religion but abusing their fellow man, he says, "but let us judge not, that we be not judged."

Where has one heard, through all the two thousand years of Christian civilization, a statesman standing in a high place in the midst of a great civil war with enemies everywhere about him who would take his life—and they did—saying sincerely from the heart, "With malice towards none, with charity for all."

In the concluding paragraph of the address Lincoln revealed the spirit of charity by making an appeal "to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan." The entreaty in Lincoln's final words for "a just and lasting peace among ourselves and among all nations" was the plea of a peace-loving man.

President Truman Tells Armed Forces Nation Will Not Falter in Cause That Roosevelt Died for

WASHINGTON, April 17—(AP)—President Truman told the armed forces of the United States throughout the world tonight that the nation would not falter in the cause for which President Roosevelt gave his life.

"All of us have lost a great leader, a farsighted statesman and a real friend of democracy," he declared. "You have lost an old friend of the services."

"Our hearts are heavy. However, the cause which claimed Roosevelt also claims us. He never faltered—nor will we!"

The address, broadcast to the men and women of the army, navy, marines and coast guard, as well as to the peoples of the United States, was recorded for rebroadcasting in order to conform to the conveniences of fighters in every battle zone over the globe.

To the armed forces of the United States throughout the world.

After the tragic news of the death of our late commander-in-chief, it was my duty to speak promptly to the congress and the armed forces of the United States.

Yesterday, I addressed the congress. Now I speak to you. I am especially anxious to talk to you for I know that all of you felt a tremendous shock, as we did at home, when our commander-in-chief fell.

Have Lost Hard Hitting Chief
All of us have lost a great leader, a farsighted statesman and a real friend of democracy. You have lost a hard-hitting chief and an old friend of the services.

Our hearts are heavy. However, the cause which claimed Roosevelt, also claims us. He never faltered—nor will we!

I have done, as you do in the field, when the commander falls. My duties and responsibilities are clear. I have assumed them. These duties will be carried on in keeping with our American tradition.

As a veteran of the first World War, I have seen death on the battlefield. When I fought in France with the 35th Division, I saw good officers and men fall and be replaced.

Recalls Own War Experiences
I know that this is also true of the officers and men of the other services, the navy, the marine corps, the coast guard and merchant marine.

I know the strain, the mud, the misery, the utter weariness of the soldier in the field. And I know too his courage, his stamina and his faith in his comrades, his country and himself.

We are depending on each and every one of you.

Yesterday I said to the congress and I repeat it now:

America Will Not Forget
"Our debt to the heroic men and valiant women in the service of our country can never be repaid. They have earned our undying gratitude. . . . America will never forget their sacrifices. Because of these sacrifices, the dawn of justice and freedom throughout the world slowly casts its gleam across the horizon."

At this decisive hour of history, it is very difficult to express my feeling. Words will not convey what is in my heart.

Quotes Lincoln's Words
Yet, I recall the words of Lincoln, a man who had enough eloquence to speak for all America. To indicate my sentiments, and to describe my hope for the future, may I quote the immortal words of that truly great commander-in-chief:

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

Who are these guardians of death,
Whose fancy words betray
The cause of human freedom
And thoughtless masses sway?

Will man e'er learn to live
In tolerance, and number quarrels few,
And, thus, in living, learn to give,
That men be brethren, shall come true?

How can we let our future rest,
When blood-stained hands of every race
Revive the force that we suppress
And bring our triumph to disgrace?

Must we underwrite the spoils of war?
Will our conscience then be free—
Knowing that all men of truth deplore
Vengeance to honor in victory?

Is human greed so strong, and mind so frail,
That peace with justice cannot reign?
Does not the victor's fruits entail
His own past be searched again?

If we allow a lust for power
As empire's tribute to the ages carve,
We betray our God this very hour,
For hate will thrive and liberty starve.

Malice Toward None

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 1, 1945

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an interesting and timely editorial comment from the Flint (Mich.) Journal of April 22, 1945. I commend it to you because it reflects the broad tolerance and generosity of one of the finest citizens in America. It is at the same time a tribute to James A. Farley.

MALICE TOWARD NONE

President Truman, in his speech to the armed forces, chose a famous paragraph from Lincoln's second inaugural address "to indicate my sentiments, and to describe my hope for the future"—

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up our Nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphans—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

It is both heartening and significant that the new President has turned to the example of Lincoln. "To bind up our Nation's wounds" has more than war meaning. War is the greatest of unifying forces, but peace lies ahead. Interests that were divergent before the war must be helped to find common ground. Lincoln's achievements as a politician of highest type, a master of compromise, show the way.

James A. Farley, in a notable Lincoln Day address, said:

"I do not know that Lincoln's principal significance is as a politician, but that was certainly one of his great contributions, and it is worth thinking about a little in these times.

"It is not easy for us today to believe that Lincoln was pictured in his lifetime as a weak man. It was said that he did not follow a clear line of policy; that he wavered, and that he was dominated by stronger men around him. * * *

Letter to Lincoln

A Contemporary Comments on Second Inauguration

(It is believed that this letter, discovered by Carl Sandburg among the Lincoln manuscripts made public last July 26, has never been printed before.)

Mr. Lincoln

Dear Sir

I only wish to thank you for being so good—and to say how sorry we all are that you must have four years more of this terrible toil. But remember what a triumph it is for the right, what a blessing to the country—and then your rest shall be glorious when it does come!

You can't tell anything about it in Washington, where they make a noise on the slightest provocation— But if you had been in this little speck of a village this morning and heard the soft, sweet music of unseen bells rippling through the morning silence from every quarter of the far-off horizon you would have better known what your name is to this nation.

May God help you in the future as he has helped you in the past and a people's love and gratitude will be but a small portion of your exceeding great reward.

Most respectfully

MARY A. DODGE
Hamilton, Mass. March 4, 1865

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE,

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1948

Lincoln Described Our Plight



BY DOROTHY THOMPSON

ABRAMHAM LINCOLN, in his Second Inaugural Address, thus described the conditions which resulted in the Civil War:

"On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it—all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them could make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came."

There we have a classic analysis of the type of political conflict resulting in war. It is an appropriate description of the present situation. The West European states—with our aid—are trying to save their freedom and create some European unity, without war. The Russians are seeking to prevent and destroy the restoration of Europe, and subject it to the Soviet Union. Both parties deprecate war, but one of them would make war rather than let Europe survive.



UNDER these conditions, negotiations can have but one outcome: defeat for one party and/or recourse to war. The aggression is entirely on one side. Again to quote the famous Lincoln address:

"To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest (slavery) was the object for which the insurgents would rend the union, even by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than restrict the territorial enlargement of it."

Thus, the Civil War did not arise from the determination of the North to abolish southern slavery but from the determination of the South to extend slavery to new states and territories. The North had determined upon a policy of containment.

So it is today. No conflict has developed over the peculiar despotic system of the Soviet Union, nor over the vast additional territories absorbed as a result of the advance of the Soviet armies into the east European world. It develops over Soviet determination to extend this conquest into the centers of western industry and culture.



DAILY it becomes clearer that rather than let Europe survive and recover, the Soviets will make war. The original Soviet hope of spontaneous communist revolutions in the wake of a victorious war has failed to materialize. Except in Yugoslavia, where armed Communists won by splitting the resistance movement, no Communist revolution has occurred without the immediate presence or proximity of the Red armies, and the Communist fifth columns are not strengthening but being weakened everywhere.

The United States is not at present prepared for war. The risk that the Soviets run now, in attempting their step-by-step conquest is arguably less than it will be when Western Europe has industrially recovered—and when the American rearmament program is completed. Now, rather than later—the Soviets must think—the United States could be forced to accept a fait accompli, amounting to a complete reorientation of the continent and putting them in the Ruhr and in advance positions from which to threaten America.

The Czech coup was the sign in the sky, from which the battle for Berlin follows logically.

And 1948 is the centenary of the Communist manifesto. This may have symbolic significance in the Soviet mind.

*With malice
with charity
with firmness
as God gives
let us strive
the work we*



E THOUGHT IT ABOUT TIME SOMEONE
got around to asking a wise man what he thought
of the present state of confusion in the radio and
television industry. In time of crisis the only counsel
of any value is the counsel of wisdom.

We ask your forgiveness and we ask the

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OF AMERICA

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES
OF THE 88th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

No. 15

PROCEEDINGS PAGES 16399 TO 18161

APPENDIX PAGES A3891 TO A4200

July 27 to August 8, 1964

*With malice toward none;
with charity for all;
with firmness in the right,
as God gives us to see the right,
let us strive on to finish
the work we are in...* ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Second Inaugural Address



WE THOUGHT IT ABOUT TIME SOMEONE got around to asking a wise man what he thought of the present state of confusion in the radio and television industry. In time of crisis the only counsel of any value is the counsel of wisdom.

We ask your forgiveness and we ask the forgiveness of Abraham Lincoln for reaching so high for guidance.

His words, although spoken about a far greater and more significant crisis, seem so relevant that we wish to recall them to you. Like almost everything Lincoln said, these words have universal application. Here is advice for the American public; a reminder that institutions are bigger than the individuals who comprise them—a reminder to the television industry to be firm in the right and to get to work on the job that must be done.

Maybe you're thinking that Abraham Lincoln was too much of an idealist even to be quoted in this sorry circumstance.

Just remember that he was a human being too, who believed that human nature never changed. He said, of the men who would be involved if there were another crisis, "... we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as had and as good."

The great institutions of Western culture did not evolve in sweetness and light like flowers in the meadow; they developed through centuries of struggle, tears, agony, calumny, and bitterness.

Let us, for the moment, focus on our field of entertainment, information, and advertising.

It was only at the beginning of this century that "yellow journalism" was the shameful scandal of the day. Publishers of great metropolitan newspapers were vying with each other in spreading big black false headlines across their front pages, blatantly deceitful—in a mad scramble to see who could sell the most papers and forget about the ethics. Some of us in the advertising business can remember the days when a man's name had to be Ananias before he could get a job as circulation manager of a newspaper.

Look at the newspaper industry today—a great, vital force on the American scene, respected by readers and advertisers alike. After

a long, shocking and sometimes entertaining history of the antics of many hoisterous scalawags, the newspaper business has grown up.

Or let's talk about the circus. There was another great American institution. [Let's talk about that genial old slicker, P. T. Barnum. There was a character! But the circus isn't dying because people were outraged when they found out that "THIS WAY TO THE EGRESS" merely emptied Barnum's tent and had nothing to do with the female of the species *gr. bear*. The circus is disappearing because, as an institution, it no longer fits into the new culture pattern. Children can't get excited about a man being shot thirty feet into the air from a dummy cannon when in their living rooms men are shot to Mars in the flick of a commercial.

Or let's talk about women. They're still here as an institution (God bless 'em) despite the fact that for thousands of years they have been tinting and lacquering themselves to conceal what they really look like. We think they have survived as a part of our culture for far more basic reasons than the magic of perfumes with naughty names.

Also we think it's a pretty safe bet that when we build the first skyscraper on the moon, the history of the human race in the capsule inside the cornerstone will not begin "There have been an awful lot of lousy guys in the world."

Yes. Mathematicians and philosophers notwithstanding, we believe that, as far as an institution is concerned, the whole is greater than the sum of its component parts.

Now we'll focus down sharply and say what we want specifically to say. We have said it before but we want to say it again so you'll know we haven't changed our mind.

We like all kinds of advertising. We like newspapers. We like magazines, radio, outdoor. Each has its specific place and each fills it well.

We have said it before and we say it again. We like television. We believe it is the greatest entertainment, information, and advertising medium in existence and that, with full awareness of the responsibility that goes with stature, it will grow and mature into even greater effectiveness with each passing decade.

what do you think?

Edward Petry & Co., Inc.

Radio and Television Station Representatives

NEW YORK • CHICAGO • ATLANTA • BOSTON • DALLAS • DETROIT • LOS ANGELES • SAN FRANCISCO • ST. LOUIS

UNITED STATES



OF AMERICA

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ently have been found to have met foul play. Their bodies have now been reported to have been found in a shallow grave about 6 miles from where they were last seen alive.

This is no time to engage in a controversial diatribe on that subject. It is sad and tragic news that three young people, idealistic and aspiring only to help their fellow man to establish the strength of our country in terms of morality and justice, should have met foul play at the hands of misguided people for whom we can only weep bitter tears of regret, more than condemnation, for the commission of this crime. This is the time to utter words of sympathy and understanding to the families of these young men. This is the only comfort that we can bring to them, comfort in the understanding that they gave birth to children who had the inspiration and the desire to act in the face of such manifest danger.

When people demonstrate such courage, it should be an inspiration to all Americans. It should be an inspiration to all Negroes so that the overwhelming majority of the Negro people will know that their cause is so just that they must join with the Nation in suppressing violence, which would hurt their cause.

These young martyrs have endured death for their cause. I know that if they were able to speak, they would speak of it only in terms of morale, in terms of dedication, in terms of inspiration, and in terms of fervent hope that their sacrifice will not have been in vain, that justice in race relations will come to this country, even to Mississippi, and that the whole Nation and its youth will be helped by their sacrifices.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I should like to ask the distinguished majority leader [Mr. MANSFIELD] about the program for today and, if possible, for the remainder of the week.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in response to the question raised by my distinguished colleague, the minority leader, it is anticipated that the Senate will temporarily lay aside the foreign aid bill and take up the independent offices appropriation bill.

About 12 o'clock, noon, Mr. Pierre Salinger, who has been appointed as a Senator from the State of California by Governor Brown, will be in the Chamber, or somewhere in its vicinity. It is my understanding that there will be a little discussion at that time.

After that is disposed of, it is the intention of the leadership to return to the independent offices appropriation bill. The leadership has been informed that sometime later this afternoon a resolution will be forthcoming which will be presented to the Senate. It is anticipated that there will be some debate on this subject at that time. How long it will take, no one can tell.

Then it is hoped, if possible, to complete consideration of the independent offices appropriation bill, and go back to the foreign aid bill very likely tomorrow, and see what we can do toward further-

ing the progress of that bill, in the consideration of amendments and the disposition of speeches on the subject itself.

It is anticipated also that, whenever possible, certain legislation reported from committees, such as legislation dealing with nurses' training, and the like, will be brought to the floor of the Senate for early consideration.

Mr. DIRKSEN. May I respectfully make a comment with respect to the majority leader's announcement? I have been requested by a number of citizens of California to raise some questions concerning the legality of the appointment. This does not go to the character or the acceptability of the appointee. It involves merely a provision in the California Code, as well as the Constitution of the United States.

Since the request has been made, as minority leader I feel that I must raise that question when the certificate of appointment is presented.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the position of the distinguished minority leader is understood perfectly, and under the circumstances I am fully aware of the position in which he finds himself.

AUTHORIZATION FOR COMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION

Upon request by Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs was authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

COMMEMORATION OF THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 2D INAUGURAL OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1240, House Joint Resolution 925.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The joint resolution will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A joint resolution (H.J. Res. 925) creating a joint committee to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the 2d inaugural of Abraham Lincoln.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution, which was ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1305), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The purpose of the joint resolution is to create a joint committee to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the 2d inaugural of Abraham Lincoln.

March 4, 1965, will be the 100th anniversary of the 2d inauguration of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States.

Upon enactment of this legislation the President of the Senate is authorized to ap-

point four Members of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives is authorized to appoint four Members of the House of Representatives jointly to constitute a Committee on Arrangements. Thereafter, the Committee on Arrangements shall meet and select a chairman from one of their own group and such other officers as will be appropriate and needed to plan in cooperation with the National Civil War Centennial Commission, the Civil War Centennial Commission of the District of Columbia, and the Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia, and provide for an appropriate ceremony at which shall be invited the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, members of the Supreme Court, heads of departments, diplomatic corps, and State and local historical and patriotic societies, and such other students and scholars as may have a special interest in the occasion, and to organize a reenactment of Mr. Lincoln's first inauguration on the eastern portico of the Capitol.

The committee is of the opinion that this resolution has a meritorious purpose, and accordingly recommends favorable consideration of House Joint Resolution 925, without amendment.

THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1256, and that the calendar be considered in sequence from that point.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will state the first order of business on the calendar.

PRINTING AS SENATE DOCUMENT OF COMPILATION OF MATERIALS RELATING TO RECLAMATION REPAYMENT CONTRACTS

The resolution (S. Res. 341) authorizing the printing as a Senate document of a compilation of materials relating to reclamation repayment contracts was considered, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That there be printed with illustrations as a Senate document a compilation of materials relating to reclamation repayment contracts, prepared by the Bureau of Reclamation of the United States Department of the Interior.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1319), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senate Resolution 341 would authorize the printing with illustrations as a Senate document of a compilation of materials relating to reclamation repayment contracts, prepared by the Bureau of Reclamation of the U.S. Department of the Interior.

The printing-cost estimate, supplied by the Public Printer, is as follows:

To print as a document (1,500 copies) ----- \$2,656

PRINTING OF ADDITIONAL COPIES OF PART 1 OF HEARINGS ON "STUDY OF FOOD MARKETING"

The resolution (S. Res. 345) to print additional copies of part 1 of hearings on

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that, the integrity of the U.S. Senate, the proposal that the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] and I have offered should be adopted in this body.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. I am pleased to have been able to join with the Senator from Minnesota in this effort. There are two approaches to this situation. The first approach is one which, in my judgment, was struck down in 1871 in the case of United States against Klein. It is the approach of the Mansfield-Dirksen amendment—as the Senator calls it—undiluted—that is, without the addition of the clause “highly unusual circumstances”—which perhaps gives the Court an escape mechanism. The other approach is the more condign approach, of depriving the appellate court of jurisdiction entirely, which was the course pursued in the McCardle case, a very old case which predated the Klein case. There is grave doubt in my mind that the Supreme Court would follow the McCardle precedent with respect to pending cases in the Federal courts, even though those pending cases were in the lower courts.

There may be some States—but very few of the 50 States—the apportionment of which has not now been called into question in the Federal courts. Therefore, if the McCardle doctrine, which has been questioned in later cases, were not to stand up, we would again be running the risk of a direct confrontation between the judiciary and Congress in an area in which it is not necessary to have a confrontation. It is my conviction that in the cases which are already pending before the Federal courts, if the Supreme Court would have to regard the Mansfield-Dirksen amendment as more than merely precatory, they would therefore strike it down. The amendment which the Senator from Minnesota and I recommend would best square with existing law, the likelihood of a new decision on this legislation by the Supreme Court, and the substantive result which we have a right to expect from the Court, of crowding the whole situation quite so hard in terms of implementation of the law which the Court has laid down.

Mr. McCARTHY. I believe that this is the best course of action for Congress to take insofar as it would have any bearing on decisions and rulings which have been made with respect to cases in the process of being appealed, and certainly with reference to any recent decisions that might be made with reference to other States. It is my opinion that this is as far as Congress should go in attempting to give direction or to influence the judicial process in this proceeding.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator for his intercession. The idea of a “sense” resolution was very much the idea of the Senator from Minnesota. I was honored when the Senator felt that I should take the laboring oar in it. I know that it will be regarded as our joint endeavor. I hope it might have some helpful result in resolving the question

before Congress. I know the Senator joins me in the realization that it is a real problem that has to be coped with. No matter what should happen to the legislation here, it would be most unfortunate if the Supreme Court allowed the situation to be dealt with quite as hard as some lower courts seem to think it must be.

Mr. McCARTHY. I agree with the views of the Senator from New York, and I am pleased to work with him on this particular bill. I know that the Senator shares with me the conviction that the processes of democracy are not self-operating and that we need to pay continuous attention to the procedures and relationships which exist in our Government among the three branches.

The Senator from New York has joined me in the past—perhaps not in the same kind of joint effort—in trying to protect the integrity of the legislative branch as against the executive branch, and also the integrity of the executive branch as against a challenge from the judicial or legislative branch of the Government. This becomes increasingly more important as we move into many areas in which it is more difficult to draw a line between executive and legislative authority, as in the case of earlier proceedings under the civil rights issue when Congress failed to take action which it should have. In this instance we placed a great burden on the executive branch of the Government. We placed a great burden upon the judicial branch of the Government and asked them to carry out legislative functions, or almost legislative functions, because Congress had failed to act.

The Senator from New York was one of those who pressed hard for the enactment of the civil rights bill to assist the executive branch of the Government in meeting its responsibility in this area, and also to make it easier for the court to carry out its responsibility regarding this problem.

I am glad to join the Senator in drawing the line, under the limited right that Congress has, to give direction on this basis.

Mr. JAVITS. If one wants to be respected, he must give respect. That is why I appreciate the approach which we have both adopted.

I thank the Senator.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 548 Leg.]

Aiken	Curtis	Inouye
Allott	Dirksen	Jackson
Anderson	Dodd	Javits
Bartlett	Dominick	Johnston
Bayh	Douglas	Jordan, N.C.
Beall	Eastland	Jordan, Idaho
Bennett	Edmondson	Keating
Bible	Ellender	Kuchel
Boggs	Ervin	Lausche
Brewster	Fong	Long, Mo.
Burdick	Fulbright	Long, La.
Byrd, Va.	Goldwater	Magnuson
Byrd, W. Va.	Gore	Mansfield
Carlson	Gruening	McCarthy
Case	Hart	McClellan
Church	Hartke	McGovern
Clark	Hayden	McIntyre
Cooper	Holland	McNamara
Cotton	Hruska	Mechem

Metcalfe
Miller
Monroney
Morton
Morse
Mundt
Muskie
Nelson
Neuberger
Pastore
Pearson
Pell

Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Robertson
Russell
Salinger
Saltan Stall
Scott
Simpson
Smathers
Smith

Sparkman
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Walters
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SALINGER in the chair). The Chair, on behalf of the President pro tempore, announces the following appointments:

To attend the third United Nations Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy at Geneva, August 31 through September 9, 1964: Senators PASTORE, ANDERSON, HICKENLOOPER, and AIKEN, with Senators CHURCH, MCINTYRE, JORDAN of Idaho, and CASE as alternatives.

To attend the British Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference at Jamaica, November 15 through 22, 1964: Senators FULBRIGHT, NELSON, BOGGS, and MILLER.

The Chair, also on behalf of the President pro tempore, announces the following appointments to the Committee on Arrangements for the Abraham Lincoln Second Inaugural Address: Senators DOUGLAS, HARTKE, DIRKSEN, and COOPER.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 11134) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes; and that the House receded from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 7 to the bill, and concurred therein.

DEPARTMENTS OF STATE, JUSTICE, AND COMMERCE, THE JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATION BILL, 1965—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 11134) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk read the report.

(For conference report, see House proceedings of Aug. 15, 1964, p. 19167, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Appendix

The Third Annual Concert in Tribute to Abraham Lincoln by the U.S. Marine Band

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 11, 1964

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, on July 19, patrons of the Watergate concert of the U.S. Marine Band were treated to the annual program dedicated to the memory of Abraham Lincoln.

Again this year, I had the privilege of taking part in the program and it was my honor to introduce the guest speaker for the evening, Carl Haverlin, a Lincoln enthusiast and scholar from Northridge, Calif.

Because I know that my colleagues and all others who revere the Lincoln story will be interested in the remarks which were made at this concert, I wish to have the concert program, the narration of William Jones, and Mr. Haverlin's appropriate address appear in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Under leave to extend my remarks, it is printed herewith:

THE U.S. MARINE BAND—"THE PRESIDENT'S OWN"

CONCERT—IN TRIBUTE TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Watergate: Lt. Col. Albert Schoepper, director, conducting, Sunday, July 19, 1964, at 8:30 p.m.

PROGRAM

1. March,¹ "Lincoln Centennial," Sanford.
2. Overture,¹ "American Overture for Band," Jenkins.
3. "Cowboy Rhapsody,"¹ Gould.
4. Suite for Band,¹ "Prairie Legend," (I) Bullwhacker's Dance, (II) Harvest Evening, (III) County Fair; Siegmeister.
5. Selection, "Stephen Foster Melodies," Arr. Guzman.

INTERMISSION

Introduction of Speaker: Representative FRED SCHWENGEL, of Iowa.

Speaker: Carl Haverlin, Northridge, Calif., Lincoln theme.

7. March,¹ "Washington Grays," Grafulla.
8. "Echoes of the 1860's," Hunsberger.
9. Baritone solo, "This Is My Country," William Jones, soloist, Jacobs.
10. Narration with band, "A Lincoln Portrait," William Jones, narrator, Copland.
11. "Battle Hymn of the Republic," Arr. Ringwald.

William Jones, concert moderator.
Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia, special invited guests.

WILLIAM JONES, NARRATOR AND CONCERT MODERATOR

(Marine Band: Fanfare opener and national anthem.)

Narrator: Ladies and gentlemen, we are most privileged again this evening to con-

¹ Original work for band.

tinue a newly established tradition in our concert programing. Tonight, for the third consecutive year, we are presenting a concert of special significance and dedication—a tribute by the President's own, the U.S. Marine Band to the memory of the 16th President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln.

We are especially indebted to the Honorable FRED SCHWENGEL, Member of Congress from Iowa's First District, for his original suggestion and his continued inspiration and enthusiasm relating to our Lincoln dedication concerts—and to the National Park Service and to the Lincoln group of the District of Columbia, under whose auspices this concert is being presented. Later in the program we will hear from Congressman SCHWENGEL and from Mr. Carl Haverlin, one of our Nation's outstanding Lincoln authorities and the 1961 recipient of the National Abraham Lincoln Distinguished Service Award.

Our homage to Abraham Lincoln tonight is not related to any special event in his life. It has no particular commemorative aspects. But as Lincoln himself was the very image of America—our concern is all American * * * and in a sense all-patriotic; it is, for the most part, music inspired by the Lincoln period in our national history.

We open our concert now as Captain Harpham and the U.S. Marine Band play the "Lincoln Centennial March" by Lee Sanford. (Marine Band: "Lincoln Centennial March.")

Narrator: Dennis Hanks, a cousin of Lincoln's mother, Nancy, is recorded to have said of Lincoln's childhood:

"It didn't seem no time till Abe was runnin' round in buckskin moccasins an' breeches, a tow-linen shirt an' coonskin cap—Abe never give Nancy no trouble after he could walk except to keep him in clothes. Most o' the time we went b'ar foot * * *. An' Abe was right out in the woods, about as soon's he was weaned, fishin' in the crick * * * goin' on coon-hunts with Tom and me an' the dogs * * * follorin' up bees to find bee trees and drappin' corn fur his Pappy. Mighty interestin' life fur a boy, but thar was good many chances he wouldn't live to grow up."

The life and time of Lincoln's youth was an era during which a vigorous young nation began to come into its own * * * strong, self-reliant; with a vibrant strength graphically illustrated in the contemporary composition by Joseph Wilcox Jenkins * * * the "American Overture for Band."

(Marine Band: "American Overture for Band.")

Narrator: Perhaps some mood for the music about to be played might be set with Robert Whitaker's "Lincoln."

"There is no name in all our country's story,
So loved as his today;
No name that unites the things of glory,
With life's plain common way."

With all his thirst for knowledge—his desire to feed the mind—Abraham Lincoln was, above all, a man in the epitome of strength and character. While in the pretense of law and even with the problems of national schism during his Presidency, he looked on with a quiet pride to our country's expanding frontiers. In his mind the new West provided still another promise of strength, freedom, and enterprise * * * though unity as we know it today was still just over the horizon. Captain Harpham and the band

present a modern treatment of songs, which in their way, "united the things of glory with life's plain common way." The songs of the new West in Morton Gould's "Cowboy Rhapsody."

(Marine Band: "Cowboy Rhapsody.")

Narrator: Poet Edwin Markham in his poem "Lincoln Triumphant" wrote:

"Lincoln is not dead. He lives in all that pities and forgives.
He has arisen, and sheds a fire that makes America aspire.

Even now, as when in life he led, he leads us onward from the dead;
Yes, over the whole wide world he bends to make the world a world of friends."

Just as this little poem mirrors Lincoln, so our next number, "Prairie Legend," by Elie Siegmeister, gives us the mood, the life, the circumstances that tell the story of Lincoln's environment. It is the suite in which you will hear: "Bullwhackers' Dance," "Harvest Evening," and "County Fair."

(Marine Band: "Prairie Legend.")

Narrator:

"If Nancy Hanks came back as a ghost,
Seeking news of what she love most,
She'd ask first . . . Where's my son?
What's happened to Abe? What's he done?"

"Poor Little Abe, left all alone
Except for Tom who's a rolling stone;
He was only nine the year I died
I remember still how hard he cried.

"Scraping along in a little shack
With hardly a shirt to cover his back,
And a prairie wind to blow him down,
Or pinching times if he went to town.

"You wouldn't know about my son?
Did he grow tall, did he have fun?
Did he learn to read? Did he get to town?
Do you know his name? Did he get on?"

We now hear, in an arrangement by Luis Guzman, a retired member of the Marine Band, the music that Lincoln often heard, asked for, and loved. Probably the nearest approach to a Lincoln quality in American music is the literature of song left us by Stephen Foster. Lincoln could never really decide just which of Foster's songs he really loved most—but his dearest favorites are included in this medley presented now by Captain Harpham and the band, "Stephen Foster Melodies."

(Marine Band: "Stephen Foster Melodies.")

INTERMISSION

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN FRED SCHWENGEL

Congressman FRED SCHWENGEL. The Lincoln Group is glad to join with Lt. Col. Albert Schoepper and Capt. Dale Harpham and these magnificent musicians as together we pay our third annual special tribute to our most American American, Abraham Lincoln.

Captain Harpham, thank you for this thrilling and inspiring evening.

Our speaker tonight was met by myself last night at the International Airport in Los Angeles at 10:45 p.m. I joined him in on flight 78 of the American Airlines and we arrived at Dulles at 6:25 this morning.

I brought him to my home and delivered him here a few minutes ago.

David Mearns of the Library of Congress, on the occasion of his receipt of the annual Lincoln Award pointed out these facts about the man who will relate the Lincoln story tonight:

"Carl Haverlin, resident of the town of Northridge, Calif.; citizen of the 20th century; inhabitant of his own world and the world of Abraham Lincoln; listener to the Lincoln lyric in prose, in poetry and in the strains of music; partaker and sharer of the Lincoln story; preserver and diffuser and interpreter of the Lincoln trace, the Lincoln touch, the Lincoln testament; anonymous benefactor of the Lincoln cause and those who serve it; patron of Lincoln learning; master of Lincoln knowledge; explorer of the Lincoln wilderness, discoverer of the Lincoln mysteries; who is (without contradiction or conflict of interest) at once the glowing amateur and the cautious academician, the enlightened student and the prudent authority, the collector and the dispenser, the advocate and the judge, the peer and the chieftain, the generous ally and the relentless force."

From him, this paradox, this disciplined disciple, comes now another tribute to our Lincoln. He is the past president of and the present consultant to Broadcast Music, Inc., and vice president of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society. It is with grateful appreciation and with eager anticipation that I yield to this rare and interesting person who is my friend, Carl Haverlin. He will address us tonight on "Lincoln by Littles."

"LINCOLN BY LITTLES," AN ADDRESS BY CARL HAVERLIN

Mr. HAVERLIN. It is not recorded that anything of great import ever happened to Abraham Lincoln on any 19th of July.

I am grateful that this is so for great events tend to obscure the essential humanity of even the greatest of men. Were we here to celebrate, say, the Emancipation Proclamation or the magical utterance at Gettysburg, the occasion and its meaning would rise between us and Mr. Lincoln.

On this day let us, instead, consider and be thankful for the uneventful years of his 56 and the many fallow days of his 20,517, when nothing meaningful seemed to happen though each contributed to the making of the man who so richly merits his vast and tranquil memorial. How did he achieve it?

Most of his days were but the small springs, the gentle confluences, the slow-flowing oxbows of the river of his life when the currents ran quietly onward toward the cruel cataracts of an unknown future and the final haven of a lasting sea.

In "Lincoln Day by Day," the exhaustive three-volume chronicle of his life, there are only 17 entries for this date. None is important though the first is touching.

In 1814, when he was five and a half years old, his father bought a secondhand child's wagon for 8½ cents. In the next, 20 years after, we find him in New Salem "a piece of floating driftwood" as he later referred to himself. In other entries we find him insisting on fairplay in a fight, attending a barbecue, making unremembered speeches, writing insignificant letters, dealing with inconsequential legal cases, and serving without great distinction in the Legislature and the Congress. Even the four entries for the presidential years lack color. All was quite on his Potomac on these days as upon thousands and thousands of others. We are kin to Lincoln in this prairie quietude rather than in the drama of his mountain granddeurs. His usual life was very like our own filled from rising to bedtime with the prosy, pedestrian minutiae of living. As we are most often, so was he—a minion to monotony—though it did not chafe him unduly.

A century of emphasis on his soaring accomplishments has tended to apostrophize him and obscure his human roots. This is a disservice to him and to us and no more ennobles him than it does some hero to assert that he was fearless. To the contrary both met and conquered their problems and perils in spite of uncertainties and fears;

perhaps because of them; but certainly a result of what they both stored up on their fallow days. The many seeds of tiny experience and the eroded grains of the metal of character only awaited the hot sun of challenge to become utile.

Had the phonograph preceded Lincoln he might speak for himself on such matters. As some substitute I have made a brief extract from a sketch of his life he wrote for a campaign biography in June, 1860. I have put his text in the first person and added a very few words for smoother flow:

"My father removed to what is now Spencer County, Ind., in the autumn of 1816 I then being in my eighth year. He settled in an unbroken forest. The clearing away of surplus wood was the great task ahead. Though young, I was large for my age and had an axe put in my hands at once. From then until within my 23d year I was almost constantly handling that useful instrument—less, of course, in plowing and harvesting seasons.

"I went to ABC schools by littles. I think the aggregate of all my schooling did not amount to 1 year. After I was 23 I studied English grammar, imperfectly of course, but so as to speak and write as well as I now do. I nearly mastered the six books of Euclid after I was a Member of Congress. I regret my want of education and do what I can to supply the want.

"In March of 1830, my father and family left the old homestead in Indiana and come to Illinois in wagons drawn by ox-teams. I drove one of the wagons. We built a cabin and made sufficient rails to fence 10 acres and raised a sown crop of corn upon it the same year. That winter I hired myself to Denton Offutt to take a flat-boat to New Orleans. During this enterprise Offutt conceived a liking for me and believing he could turn me to account contracted with me to act as clerk in charge of a store and mill in New Salem. In less than a year Offutt's business was failing when the Black Hawk War of 1832 broke out. I joined a volunteer company and, to my own surprise, was elected captain. I have not since had any success in life which gave me such satisfaction.

"Returning from the campaign and encouraged by my great popularity with my immediate neighbors, I ran for the legislature and was beaten—my own precinct, however, casting its votes 277 for and 7 against me. This was the only time I was ever beaten by a direct vote of the people.

"I was now without means and out of business but was anxious to remain with friends who had treated me with so much generosity—especially as I had nothing elsewhere to do to. I studied what I should do—thought of learning the blacksmith trade—thought of trying to study law. I rather thought I could not succeed at that without a better education. Before long, strangely enough, a man offered to sell me and William Berry, as poor as myself, an old stock of goods. We opened as merchants and I was the store. I was appointed postmaster of New Salem, the office being too insignificant to make my politics an objection. The store winked out. The surveyor of Sangamon offered me a job. I accepted, procured a compass and chain and studied the books a little and went at it. This procured bread and kept body and soul together.

"In 1834, I was elected to the legislature. After the election I borrowed books to study the law. I was still surveying to pay board and clothing bills. I was reelected in 1836-38-40. In 1836 I obtained a law license. In March of that year I briefly defined, with Dan Stone, my position on slavery—and so far as it goes it was then what it is now.

"I believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy * * * I believe that the Congress of the United States has the power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.

"In November 1842, I was married to Mary, daughter of Robert S. Todd, of Lexington, Ky. We have three living sons. In 1846 I was elected to the lower House of Congress and served for one term only. Upon my return I went into the practice of law with greater earnestness than ever before. In 1854 the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me as I had never been before. In the autumn I took the stump. My speeches attracted more attention than ever before. I did not abandon the law but in the presidential canvass of 1856 I made 50 speeches for Fremont."

This is as far as Mr. Lincoln went for the rest of the record was known. In these "short and simple annals of the poor" as he phrased it, rereveals a true humility but coupled with a rare pride in his early accomplishments and friendships. He does not complain. He evidences great good humor and intellectual honesty. He hints at his mastery of tools, kinship with the soil, love of family, hunger for knowledge, use of books, and devotion to his profession, persistence in principles of justice, and willingness to serve.

To better track him to his wellsprings I hope hereafter on this date, or any other not anniversary of a great event, others will help us imagine him as he was on his quiet days; perhaps as a reporter saw him on July 18, 1861:

"I saw the President crossing Pennsylvania Avenue, striding like a crane in a bulrush swamp * * * evidently in a hurry to get to the White House." That was a quiet day as was the next when he asked Secretary Seward to call "on a matter of no great moment." But the two following days were different for on them the Union forces attacked and were routed at the Battle of the First Bull Run. Then it was that the harsh iron gates of reality clanged open before the anguished President. He saw the Capitol threatened and the Union itself in mortal peril.

Now under the crimson challenge of the sun of war the assemblage of littles from all his forgotten days flowed together, coalescing in the heat of his need and, transmuted to a nobler metal, became the shining armor of his greatness.

From this point in time and in this city—itsself a corridor in history and an echo chamber of the past—we have stretched the mystic chords of memory to trace his faint beginnings and approach his appalling end. The more we learn of his shadow life, the more we can appreciate the Nation's good fortune—not only in him but in all the devoted servants of our republic, wherever and whoever they may serve—who came here by the same road he came.

As there are no rules for becoming a hero, there were none for becoming a Lincoln. For him there was only living by littles and striving, day by day, in accordance with simple human precepts and a firm reliance on the Divine Providence he so often invoked.

As a nation let us be comforted that it still shapes men to serve the Republic. As individuals let's us be assured that among us now, even here tonight, are boys and girls, men and women, destined by their prairie preparation for tomorrow's decisions on the lonely, upthrust granite heights of great occasions—whether in the White House or in some lesser post which by the unrest of the occasion will be of equal importance.

As closing apostrophe to Mr. Lincoln, this paraphrase from an ancient Chinese text:

"Being great you passed on.
Passing on you became remote.
Having become remote, you return."

(Marine Band: "Washington Grays.")

Narrator: Our Civil War was fought in a period of great devotion, remarkable enterprise, and high inventiveness. The tempering of the people in the fires of conflict did bring forth that new Nation of which Abraham Lincoln spoke with timeless eloquence.

Of equal value then and ever increasing currency today is the vast hoard of songs, marching tunes, and patriotic airs that were written during the war period or which were revived to serve a timely cause. They too, are a chapter in American history. These songs, the marches, quicksteps, and sentimental songs of the day comprised the repertoire of the typical regimental military band of the period. Bands of such as the 3d New Hampshire and the famous 7th Regiment Band of New York. Now is perhaps the best time to listen to these "Echoes of the 1860's."

(Marine Band: "Echoes of the 1860's.")

(Baritone solo: "This Is My Country," Williams Jones, soloist.)

Narrator: What comes now may be called the essence of this concert's tribute to Lincoln—an imposing work by Aaron Copland creating an elision between that composer's magnificently descriptive music and the immortal words of Abraham Lincoln himself. Music's monument, "The Lincoln Portrait."

(Marine Band: "The Lincoln Portrait.")

A Man Who Could See.

In Mr. Lincoln's second inaugural there is a phrase which points straight to that quality which lifted him head and shoulders above all other statesmen of his time, if not of all times. This phrase is:

With firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right.

It was this capacity for sight, this genius for recognizing the duty of that moment, and not of some other moment, that made Abraham Lincoln an immortal character, one of the colossal figures in human history. Few men have much insight. Notable men have insight in one subject or one direction; they see a single phase of a problem or a duty, but Lincoln could see all phases and see them all the time.

He was an opportunist, not of course in the sense of one who trims his sails to the favoring breeze, but in the sense of a man who knows when to strike and when not to, and his astonishing gift of insight made him a better strategist than his generals and a better diplomat than his Secretary of State, though absolutely untrained in war and diplomacy.

In his great debate with Douglas he enunciated the fundamental truth, which few men saw, that this country could not exist half slave and half free. But he was not an abolitionist—not a member of that party or in sympathy with its expressions. He could see the fact and the destiny: the country was going to exist free, and therefore the preservation of nationality was the important thing. He saw, as few men of his time saw, that the preservation of the Union was of the utmost importance to mankind. The South had always regarded the Union as a confederation. In the North, in spite of Webster's "indissoluble union of indestructible States," there was little passion for the Union. Among anti-slavery people there was a general disposition to join in Horace Greeley's invitation to the "erring sisters" to "go in peace." Instead of having a powerful national feeling behind him, Lincoln actually had to galvanize that feeling into vitality. He saw this, and he saw when to do it.

When he was inaugurated most of the Southern States had seceded. While there were in the North plenty of persons who wished the erring sisters a peaceable exit from the Union, there were plenty of others who recalled Andrew Jackson and nullification, and demanded the invasion of South Carolina, which would instantly have alienated Virginia, where the Union element was maintaining a struggle with prospects of success. A great part of the North that denied the right of any State to secede drew back from the idea of coercion.

There was not a man in the country who saw the whole situation and saw just what step to take at what moment except Abraham Lincoln. Buchanan has been roundly denounced for his inaction; Lincoln was just as inactive until the South fired on Fort Sumter. The moment for action had then come, and Lincoln acted like a whirlwind. Instantly he called the nation to arms, and the nation instantly responded, because the South had assumed the responsibility. Very little of the North would have supported Lincoln in instituting hostilities.

An enemy of slavery from his childhood, a Free Soiler in public life, the proponent of the maxim that this nation could not exist half slave and half free, Lincoln saw when to let slavery alone and when to strike it. He was besieged by the abolitionists, who urged instant emancipation. As Secretary Welles wrote in his diary, whose publication has been commenced by *The Atlantic Monthly*: "He had been prompt and emphatic in denouncing any interference by the general Government with the subject" up to midsummer of 1862. He wrote to Greeley that if he could save the Union by freeing the slaves he would free them; if he could save it by leaving them in slavery he would leave them in slavery, and if he could save the Union by freeing some and leaving others in slavery he would do that. When Antietam raised the confidence of the North, and at the same time the resistance of the South called for an extreme measure, then Lincoln saw the moment for the Emancipation Proclamation.

It was Lincoln's almost supernatural ability to see that saved the Union, destroyed slavery and immortalized him.

With Malice Toward None

LINCOLN had a good opinion of his own Second Inaugural and prophesied correctly about it. Writing to Thurlow Weed on March 15, 1865, he said: "Thank you for yours on my little notification speech and on the recent inaugural address. I expect the latter to wear as well as—perhaps better than—anything I have produced." His expectation has been realized. With the exception of his great definition of democracy, "Of the people, by the people, for the people"—a phrase which incidentally is not original with him but goes back to old John Wycliffe—no words of Lincoln have worn so well as his appeal to the American people to be firm in the right, as God has given them to see the right, with malice toward none, with charity for all.

It was not the only occasion on which Lincoln prayed, so to speak, to be saved from malice. He penned the Second Inaugural a short six weeks before his death, and we are free to suppose that a dim foreboding may have lent to his words the exaltation of an unstudied Farewell Address. But there is a letter of his to Cuthbert Bullitt, written nearly three years earlier, not long after the capture of New Orleans, and dealing with reconstruction in Louisiana. His concluding words are: "I shall do nothing in malice. What I deal with is too vast for malicious dealing."

Too vast for malicious dealing—can any words better sum up the whole duty of governments and of chiefs of state? The responsibilities of government are at all times too vast a thing for malice, or for the appearance of malice. This is even more emphatically true in troubled and anxious times. A difficult situation may well become an alarming situation if the steersman, not the passengers, goes in for rocking the boat; if the captain on the bridge surrenders to a vocabulary of panic. It does not promote national confidence or national discipline when Administration spokesmen rail against aristocratic anarchists' unleashing their bulldogs of the press as part of a general conspiracy against the nation's well-being. It does not promote domestic peace if legitimate democratic criticism of government policy is always to be denounced as Fascism, and a straightforward, open, democratic protest becomes Sabotage.

Sweet List 77

\$12.50

Lincoln's Second Inaugural

88. Interesting letter of Mary Prentiss, a young Maine girl who attended the ceremonies, balls, etc. as guest of Senator S. C. Pomeroy who franked her letter to her sister describing the events, March 8, 1865.

One passage is: "All the Senators are more anxious to have Mr. Lincoln here than they ever were before. People say they wanted Lincoln and Hamlin but not Mrs. Lincoln and Johnson."

Johnson is accused of drunkenness not only at the inaugural on Saturday but lasting thru Tuesday following. \$7.50

Charles Francis Adams ^{Jr.} is his father.

What think you of the management? The said
spelling lawyer is one of the wonders of the day.
Once at Gettysburg and now on a greater
occasion, he has shown his capacity for rising
to the needs of the hour. - - -

See Touchberg.

FARM CROPPING REPORT

P. A. No. Name State County Acreage

Name of Tenant _____ Post Office _____

Description of land:

Acres in farm

To be cropped in 19____, as follows:

_____ Acres Cultivated

_____ Hard Wheat

_____ Acres Pasture

_____ Durum Wheat

_____ Acres Hay

_____ Acres

_____ Acres bldgs & yard

_____ Barley

_____ Acres Timber

_____ Rye

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